PEACE NEWS

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Germany clamps down on freedom of speech

THE trial in West Germany of seven members of the World Peace Council on charges of activity hostile to the constitution has resulted in many protests from abroad.

Another organisation in West Germany, the Association of the Victims of the Nazi Regime (VVN), is also under the threat of a ban. Both organisations are largely Communist, the VVN naturally so because many Communists were victims of the Nazis.

Two pacifist lawyers are defending the seven accused.

Theodore Michaltscheff, one of the leaders of the German war-resistance movement, the East German section of which was suppressed by the Communist Government, has told a reporter from East German radio :

> "I am opposed to the banning of the Peace Committees and the VVN, irrespective of whether they are under Communist influence or not. I know, of course, that under a Communist system I would not be free to express such an opinion publicly; but that is precisely the basic difference between a democracy and a dictatorship. A democracy tolerates different opinions, a dictatorship does not. A dictatorship can afford to ban different opinions, a democracy cannot afford to do so."

Stuart Morris has expressed similar views in a reply to a letter from the German Peace Council.

He points out that "if the East German Government would regard an association of pacifists as illegal, they would seem to have a very weak case in protesting at the action of the West German Government. We are concerned with freedom of speech and of association in all countries and in both parts of Germany."

He did not share the German Peace Council's conclusion that the main purpose of the trial was to denounce as traitors *all* in West Germany who strive for disarmament and the relaxation of international tension.

A letter has also been sent to the West German Ambassador in London on the initiative of the Secretary of the British Peace Committee, Mr. J. Gardner, appealing to the Adenauer government to "cease these attacks on men and women who deserve our respect for the stand they have made in the cause of peace."

The London Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is arranging for a contingent from London to join the Sheffield Youth CND's Coast to Coast March (Dec. 26 to Jan. 2). The London group will meet at the Main Arrival board, Euston Station, at 10 p.m. on Sunday, Dec. 27, and will join the march at Bolton.

Behind the talk about disarmament—

THE ARMS RACE IS STILL GROWING

DESPITE THE MANY STATEMENTS NOW IN TOP CIRCLES FAVOURING DISARMAMENT, MILITARY PREPARATIONS FOR WORLD WAR III ARE CONTINUING AT A FANTASTIC PACE.

The UN General Assembly has agreed unanimously on which body is to study the various disarmament proposals; the facts of military preparations, however, point not to peace but to an ever-continuing development of the arms race.

This has been widely illustrated from various sources in the last few days.

First there were the statements of Mr. McElroy, whose resignation as U.S. Secretary of Defence was announced on December 1.

At a press conference that afternoon, The Times reported, Mr. McElroy said that "the United States was not going for a larger inter-continental ballistic missile programme because her composite forces were sufficient to offset Russian superiority in missiles through the early 1960's.

"These forces included nuclear submarines with Polaris missiles, B-52 bombers with Hound Dog missiles (range 500 miles), carrier-based bombers and tactical fighter-bombers based all round Russia."

"With all these elements," Mr. McElroy said, "it is my belief, and General Twining's, that there is adequate protection between now and the time of significant Minuteman addition."

The Minuteman is a solid fuel inter-continental ballistic missile which should be operational by 1963.

According to Time Magazine of March 10, 1958, the Minuteman system will consist of 4,000 H-bomb warheaded missiles mounted underground and pre-aimed for instant push-button launching.

Businessman McElroy, incidentally, returns to the detergent firm of which he was President until he became Secretary of Defence in 1957!

H-bomber patrol

The following day it was announced in Washington that United States' long-range nuclear bombers operating from overseas bases will be kept on continuous airborne alert in the early 1960's.

This will be part of a continual alert of Strategic Air Command bombers at bases around the world.

Then President Eisenhower, setting out on his tour in Europe and Asia, referred to the B-70 bomber, a machine designed to fly at 2,000 miles an hour by 1962.

AN EDITORIAL

The next day, December 3, a pamphlet entitled "The Soviet Union and NATO Powers—the Military Balance" was published in London.*

It disclosed for the first time in a public document some of the modern military preparations taking place in Russia.

The pamphlet, published by the Institute of Strategic Studies, states that Russia has about 100 principal missile bases, and a missile arm numbering about 200,000 men.

These bases are along the Baltic coast, mainly around Konigsberg, in the area between Lake Ladoga and the White Sea, in the Thuringian Forest in East Germany, Southern Ukraine, and the Carpathians.

The 200,000 men employed in the missile arm are under the command of an Engineer-General, who controls the manufacture of nuclear bombs, rockets and guided missiles, all testing sites, and rocket and guided missile units.

The main weapons in the Soviet ground-to-ground missile armoury are the T-3, an inter-continental ballistic missile with a range of more than 5,000 miles, and the T-2 and T-4 intermediate range missiles, with ranges of 1,600 miles and 1,000 miles respectively.

Russia, the pamphlet continues, has two sea-to-ground missiles: the Komet, which can be fired from the surface or from a submerged submarine, has a range of 95 miles and is in service; and the Golem, a submarine weapon which can be fired only from the surface, has a range of 310 miles and is in mass production.

The sources on which the Institute has based its pamphlet are not given, but it appears to be founded on authoritative intelligence work (i.e. spying).

The general outline of developments need not be doubted, moreover, as such up-to-the-minute military preparations are the traditional mark of the Super-power which the Soviet Union has determined to be.

The same day as the pamphlet was published in London a communiqué was put out in Bonn at the end of talks between the British and West German Defence Ministers.

Joint missile production

It stated that their two Governments were to join forces to develop the new short-range Blue Water surface-to-surface guided missile for the support of armies in the field.

Reports such as these, of the development of the means of race suicide, now appear almost daily. They reveal more clearly than anything else the direction in which the world is fast travelling.

This is not a time for easy optimism. The arms race has developed a momentum of its own which is rapidly removing it from the sphere of political control. Increasingly it is militarism that is creating political situations rather than vice versa.

We welcome assertions by people everywhere of responsibility for a problem which cannot be left to statesmen.

**The Institute of Strategic Studies, 18 Adam Street, London, W.C.2. Price 1s.*



Action against race discrimination

PICTURED above are some of the marchers who demonstrated against apartheid in Newcastle-on-Tyne recently.

The march, which was organised by the Tyneside Africa Council, coincided with a decision by King's College students to ban South African produce from the Union shops, Ursula Massey told Peace News.

An article on the boycott of South African goods appears on page six.

A motion criticising the Government's attitude to racial intolerance and discrimination particularly as it has been expressed in recent votes in the United Nations on the South African Government's policy of apartheid was defeated in the House of Commons on Monday. Two hundred and thirty-nine members voted for the motion and 341 against.

A great deal of concern was expressed during the debate about the Prime Minister's coming visit to South Africa.

The Government's actions in the United Nations were defended on the grounds that the UN had no legal right to interfere in the internal affairs of its member states. "Our attitude has always been that these resolutions (criticising apartheid) are outside the competence of the General Assembly," said Mr. David Ormsby-Gore, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

In a maiden speech, Mr. Christopher Chataway, while defending the Government's policy, suggested that ordinary people could take actions that Governments were unable to. He hoped that the England cricket team would not play South Africa unless the South African team was multi-racial.

Almost all those members who defended the Government made reference to the fact that the Labour Government had behaved in a similar way at the UN between 1945-51.

THE TWILIGHT GENERALS

By Roy Bridger

THE main thing about the generals is that they are living fossils.

For instance, given that our cause in the last war was the most just and glorious ever fought for, the stage was set for the man of destiny, Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery. It was magnificent—Alamein, Normandy, everything, right up to that historic moment on May 3, 1945, when Monty, hands in pockets, receives the German surrender delegation at Luneberg Heath.

But not beyond that moment. Because in the meantime a drastic new change in the set-up has occurred. Previously war has been an expendable luxury. Now, with the appearance of atomic weapons, it would mean irretrievable suicide. So that the only utterances on the subject which matter are those taking this into account.



The man of destiny for whom the situation ebbs away.
Photo : News Chronicle.

And this is where the Montgomerys are failing so disastrously to live up to the situation. The precision bombing of Hamburg and Dresden, it is contended, helped to bring the Hun to his knees. But only to advance the day, it seems, when the first priority is to arm the Federal Republic of Germany. Out of a blue sky, in from the sea, flew the aeroplanes which brought atomic defeat to the Jap. Only to usher in a process of relentless pressure to equip Japan with nuclear weapons.

Hero's message

The moment the German surrender was accepted, the hero of Luneberg Heath became a peace-time citizen, with opportunities like anyone else for tackling the various complex problems arising. With better opportunities, in fact, for the world was listening to what he had to say. This is what he had to say:

> "If anyone in the world starts aggression we shall give them the works from the word go, with atom bombs and hydrogen bombs and with the biggest things we have got and with everything we have got."

Montgomery is to some extent a tragic figure, of course. The man of destiny from whom the situation ebbs away always is. There have been signs that he, too, would like to have other lines of approach. But the philosophies touched on are sketchy and inconsistent. One moment he is declaring that "the next great war will be in about 20 years' time between the Russians and the Chinese, and that will be the right war in the right place," the next he is off on some flamboyant "peace mission" understandably assessed by the "Memoirs"-proof as just another exercise in the Higher Militarism.

Until now, war has been a straightforward matter of a conflict between two sides. It was the sides that counted. The way they went about it was only a secondary consideration. But today it is no longer the sides that matter. It is the *means* of warfare that usurps the stage. From now on there can never be a single cause worth going to war about. Not one.

The new weapons are acquiring unlimited powers of annihilation. With automation being increasingly applied to the apparatus of production, all the powers at large will be working to apply it to the apparatus of destruction. It is a childish fancy to suppose that the extreme potency of the new weapons will act as a deterrent. The policy of the so-called deterrent has never worked, since it constitutes an unmistakable challenge to the other side, not only to go one better, but to think in terms of getting a knockout blow in first.

Throughout history war has always been a constant, fought out with the most effective weapons available. War has always progressed, and the increase of potency of weapons has always progressed. What has *not* progressed is the human element involved. The only fitting controllers of such marvels as the new weapons would be beings cut to a similar pattern of perfection. Unfortunately we trust them to men of various degrees of imperfection, ranting politicians and old-fashioned militarists, midget figures dwarfed by the tremendous forces they can now set in motion.

Strategist danger

It is all very well to plan in terms of supermen weighing every consideration and at every turn balancing deterrent against counter-deterrent, but the real thing is much more likely to be started by some dizzy long-range strategist with a master plan to throw the Bolshevik against the Hun in a gigantic feint to cover hurling the Hun against the Bolshevik.

There are many problems in respect of which there is room for various trial and error experiments. But the trial and error method is no use with H-bombs. A break-through into peaceful co-existence has got to be made, and it has got to be made in the swing of a golf club. It will be a race against time, a desperate last-minute struggle between those still dominated by notions of "punching a hole in the enemy's flank" (annihilating everything from Bristol to Bombay) and "destroying opposing effectives" (a thousand million skeletons fought over by hordes of two-headed rats) and those who are working for stability.

Meanwhile, the situation is sliding towards catastrophe. The rockets are stirring in their stockpiles. To the last, unassailable in their private Valhallas, the twilight generals continue to hammer out their ineffable palaeozoic battles.

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Nuclear disarmament and the social worker

By John C. Flatt

Recently a letter was sent by a group of social workers to various journals. It represented the attitude to nuclear armament of six workers in different fields; of the six journals to which the letter was sent it appeared in only two. Subsequently it was reprinted in Peace News. The views expressed below are those of one of the group, John C. Flatt, a social worker in the Birmingham Probation Service, speaking for himself.

AS a social worker, dealing with individual people directly, one finds the words of William Blake to have a special significance—"you cannot do good but in minute particulars"—that is to say the individual must be regarded as an end in himself, rather than as a means to an end or as a unit in the community at large.

The hope of the social worker is that his or her concern for the individual or the family unit may be of value in maintaining or improving the quality of their lives. Growth and adjustment now in the life of an individual may lead to a happier life for his or her children. Help of the right kind may affect future generations in ways we cannot foresee.

BIOLOGICAL DAMAGE

For one who has been for many years a pacifist, war and all that may occasion war must be seen as the negation of the values he upholds, not only as an individual but in his professional life as well. So much more, therefore is this true for the possibility of war in which use might be made of nuclear weapons, with their terrible potentialities for biological damage to children yet unborn. This aspect of nuclear fission must be particularly abhorrent to the social worker who sees so often, in the course of his work, the results of bad inheritance as well as those of poor environment.

To an increasing extent people, in their daily lives and in their entertainment, have become more and more accustomed to violence and destruction. They are invited in a variety of ways to accept the values which pander to the death-seeking and destructive part of our nature. The effect of this on older people may not be apparent, but there is little doubt that this constant emphasis on horror and wide-spread death may lead younger people into an easy acceptance of the political and military philosophy which makes the use of nuclear weapons possible.

Those of us who can see in imagination the consequences, and who because of belief and upbringing repudiate the whole idea of turning loose such destruction, may not rest from the need to make plain our beliefs.

Whether or not we may influence government policy to a significant extent should not deter us from making our voices heard, though whether we should try to turn protest into policy is not easy to decide. It is hardly possible to separate decisions about armaments from the political forces with which they are involved. Moral principles are far removed from political and economic facts. An individual may choose to follow one course rather than another, even if he risks suffering or maybe life itself, but it may not be right for him to form a policy which imposes this course on others.

POSITIVE ACTION

The professional social worker learns that his client must be allowed to make his own choices, and, within limits decide his own future. Through the help the worker offers he hopes that his client may be able to make choices directed more towards life and growth. He cannot force his client to accept a scale of values ready made, nor decide for him what he should grasp and what let go.

This argument cannot be transformed completely to a movement in which people band themselves together to protest at something which is fundamentally evil. At some point they must embody their protest which is a negative, in suggestions for a positive course of action. They will be forced to ask themselves how this affects the lives of others; once this question has been asked they enter the arena of political movements, and make themselves responsible for imposing on others the practical outcome of their moral principles or religious beliefs.

To many this must seem an argument of despair, but, for the present writer it seems simply a resolve to try to see that good is made manifest in a setting where it can readily appear, that is to say, in the sphere of inter-personal relations. One may feel compassion for men in general, but able only to express it in a particular relationship where it can be seen and understood in action. It is possible to express one's sorrow and shame that in the world of men such an enormity as the H-bomb is conceivable; to carry the protest into political action involves accepting also the compromises in morals and beliefs which are common in deciding the affairs of men.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

THIS IS NEW POLITICS

I'VE been finding it very difficult to think about anything except the Brize Norton march the Sunday before last.

It was extremely encouraging. All these students—nearly all the 700 marchers were young people—from all over England made me realise that new politics really are developing rapidly now among this generation.

I wandered into Oxford Friends' Meeting House late on the Saturday night as undergraduates arrived from Southampton, Bristol, Birmingham, Nottingham and London. Certainly a lot of new faces here, but much of the donkey work of organisation was being done by experienced Campaigners.

About midnight a group of us were driven out to the H-bomber base at Brize Norton. The students taking a watch on the picket line there were in high spirits. Rain was falling, a couple of searchlights prodded the sky overhead (looking for *Soviet* H-patrols?) and cars kept entering and leaving the main gates. There was much checking of passes by the US military. Some of the picketers told me they had just been driven right round the aerodrome by local worthies; it was a very long drive.

The pickets changed at about 3.30 a.m. and some of us were taken a few miles to an address of local sympathisers. Apparently they had offered their house as a base for the vigil squad. Although the house was in darkness we rang the bell—and what a welcome we got!

It was a young couple with children. They insisted on getting up, making us a hot meal—and giving us their beds for the rest of the night ("We have plenty of work to be getting on with"). Then another hot meal at 9.0 a.m., and they saw us off to the base.

It was a lovely home and I haven't the slightest idea who they were. Probably schoolteachers, possibly Quakers. The house was full of useful publications, good paintings and lovely children. I noticed a War Resisters' International badge in the lapel of the husband's jacket.

I'm quite convinced there are thousands of such splendid people in this Campaign. On the Aldermaston marches everyone smiled, everyone shared, everyone spoke to each other. Over and over again I heard people say: "Life should always be like this."

Take another example. At midday on the Sunday we had a lunch stop in Witney beside the large village green. We'd hardly arrived before a woman let down the boot of her car and produced literally dozens of home-made "hot dogs." Without any fuss she just got down to giving them away to anyone around.

I like to think that *this* is the real world we live in. When I open my papers and read that Mr. Khrushchev is keeping his troops in Hungary or that the US Government is being urged to resume nuclear testing, the unheralded work of Campaigners begins to make life the sort of joy it should be—always.

What sort of effect do our marches have, incidentally? We never know—but we get a few indications. On the Sunday night I wandered into an Oxford College and saw a debating society notice which read: "Debate: that this House should have marched from Brize Norton."

There was also plenty of publicity in the Oxford weekly, "Isis," and a couple of Campaign students appeared on TV.

Shortly after the march, however, came news that "US long-range nuclear bombers operating from British bases will be kept on continuous airborne alert in the early 1960's."

But not even that makes me despair. On the Brize Norton march I saw a very different sort of power—and I think we can still win.

APPEALING TO YOU



OVERHEARD at a party: "That girl should get out of the habit of saying the same thing once." Unfortunately I cannot get out of the habit of saying the same thing not once or twice, but over and over again, though I will not have the chance of saying it more than another two or three times before we close our books for the year.

All I can do is to try and put my appeal for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund differently each time, so that once during the year it may touch *your* imagination. But I have not succeeded with many readers of Peace News, because we still need to ask for £365 before the end of the year.

How can I win a response from you? With a mention of Christmas? A personal approach to you as a friend? An appeal to gratitude for the past? Or hope for the future? Or our present need? YOU know what would really move you to send a donation to the PPU Headquarters Fund this week. If I cannot find the words in which to do it, will you please listen to your own appeal?

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.
Amount received to date: £885.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1

'Solving' problems

IT is very encouraging that we are beginning to hear much more about the economic consequences of disarmament.

There was an interesting article by Seymour Harris on this theme in a recent issue of the New York Times. "So far as I know," he says, "the (US) Government is not now prepared with an economic programme to meet this kind of emergency" (i.e., disarmament).

Looking for lessons from history, he points out that "The war of 1812, the Civil War and World War I were followed, in each instance, by heavy cuts in military outlays, a drop of prices of 30 to 40 per cent and depressions."

Then, coming to the Great Depression of the 'thirties, he shows that "As late as 1939, after six and a half years of the New Deal, unemployment was still at 9,500,000, or about 17 per cent of the labour force. Then came defence and war, and by 1944 military purchases had risen to $88,000,000,000 and unemployment had fallen to 1,000,000."

Seymour Harris is optimistic about solving the present problem. One feature of his own plan is quite brilliant. He supposes that the arms programme is going to be halved ("a reasonable goal for a genuine disarmament agreement"). This would hit certain industrial areas of the country badly, so these cities should be specially favoured—*with the remaining arms contracts*!

Have the Top Brass in Civil Defence overlooked Mr. Harris' ability to solve awkward problems? Just think what a future he has *there*!

MPs in action

WE can rightly complain of the conspiracy to prevent certain information being given to the public. But some of the things that are said in Parliament are still worth hearing and deserve to be better known. For example:

Mr. Swingler: . . . Will the Foreign Secretary answer this question: Are the Government in favour or against any more nuclear tests, including the French test?

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd: That kind of supplementary question makes we wonder whether the hon. Gentleman is trying to make mischief. . . . (November 18).

★

Mr. Mellish: Without much hope, I beg to give notice that on Friday, December 4, I shall call attention to the need for legislation to ensure that all political Parties publish their accounts annually, showing all sources of income and expenditure, and move a Resolution. (November 18.)

★

Mr. Sydney Silverman asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware that the policies of the Secretary of State for the Home Department in relation to civil defence are inconsistent with those of the Minister of Defence, which are based on the view that the civil population cannot be defended in the event of nuclear war; and what steps he is taking to secure that these conflicting policies are reconciled.

Mr. Harold Macmillan: I am not aware of any such inconsistency. (November 24.)

—Phyz

This was the front of the recent protest march from the Brize Norton H-bomber patrol base to Oxford. The first of hundreds of students are seen climbing out of Witney after a lunch stop in the town. *Photo: Austin Underwood.*



By Sybil Morrison

DAMS FOR PEACE

There is something peculiarly remorseless and terrifying about a tragedy of this kind (the bursting of the Malpasset dam), the absence of the slightest anticipation of danger, and the undiscriminating nature of the slaughter. There are, alas, many children among the victims.
—The Daily Telegraph, Dec. 4, 1959.

THE one inescapable fact of human mortality is seldom faced, and few would desire that it should be always present in the mind. The attempt to force people to face the possibility of total destruction in a nuclear war fails just because total destruction can, in fact, only be assessed by the individual in respect of his own personal destruction.

It is because of this that when an accident occurs involving the loss of many lives the tendency is to imagine it in terms of one's own pain and grief in similar circumstances, and the natural reaction is one of horror and distress for those who have suffered.

When Lynmouth met with a disaster similar to Frejus; when Holland's dykes were breached and went down before the most devastating flood-tide in centuries, the public reaction of pity and generosity was almost overwhelming in its intensity.

In those two disasters hundreds of lives were lost, and there was an immediate response to all appeals for financial and other help simply because people identified themselves with the victims and the bereaved.

Yet in 1943 when the Moehne and Eder dams were bombed; when 134 million tons of water were released by the one and 200 million by the other; when tens of thousands of people were drowned, including, "alas, many children"; when homes, lands, crops, factories, roads and railways were swept away in the roaring, implacable waters, there was, among ordinary human beings in this country apparently nothing but rejoicing.

■ ■ ■

The Wing-Commander who led that raid was awarded the highest honour in military service, the Victoria Cross; a book has been written and a film made glorifying this terrible holocaust, and few people seem to have even imagined themselves in the same situation, let alone deplored what was done.

There are many fundamental evils in war, but perhaps none so appalling as the indoctrination of the human mind to the elimination of pity and grief for suffering.

When in the First World War I saw a Zeppelin carrying, as was known, about 60 men, plunging to the earth in a flaming mass; when I realised that the human beings inside it must be burning alive with no hope or chance of escape, I was stricken with horror and distress.

There seems, therefore, no word left to describe my feelings when I perceived that in the streets ordinary, decent, kind-hearted British people were clapping and dancing, shouting and rejoicing at this dreadful sight. It was the certainty then that human pity, imagination and understanding were destroyed by war equally with human lives, that made me a pacifist.

When the Moehne and Eder dams broke the people of Germany were drawn together in a great common effort to save and help the sufferers from that dreadful act of war. In war, a common cause is made against an enemy, and the fact that the enemy is also making common cause is forgotten. It is not possible in war to think of "the enemy" as human.

Any comparison with the "dam-busting" raid on Germany has not, so far as I know, been made in any other newspaper, yet the accidents of nature, or of failure in man-made inventions are inconsiderable compared to the deliberate destruction of war.

The Malpasset dam will be built up again as was the village of Lynmouth, and the dykes of Holland; the urgent need is to build up the dams of peace which will repel war for all time, and to rescue the human race; this is the pacifist's task.

Next year's 'Summit'

IF anyone still needs evidence of the craziness of power politics he can find it in his calendar. This is the time before the close of the year 1959 when the "Summit" meeting should be taking place, which Russia, Britain and America wanted before Christmas. And the two countries which have imposed their will for delay, with its inherent danger of eventual failure, on Moscow, London and Washington are France and Germany—both disastrously defeated in the war, yet now, through the idiocy of the policy of seeking peace through strength, in a position of having checked the initial impetus towards all-round world relaxation.

Apart from their unity in obstructing rapid progress towards the "Summit" meeting France and Germany are however not in complete agreement. Chancellor Adenauer's visit to Paris produced the usual fact-concealing communiqué worded as if every point of discussion had been satisfactorily settled. But it said nothing of the fundamental difference between the Chancellor's and the President's views with regard to NATO and Western European defence. That remains unbridged and unbridgeable.

The German Chancellor is more insistent than any other Western statesman on complete integration, whilst President de Gaulle is so far removed from willingness to accept it that, after having put forward his proposals for the so-called double role of the French Mediterranean fleet, he has also said that integration "has had its day," to which Prime Minister Debré added "a country defends itself well only in its own name"—meaning French troops wholly under French command. What Adenauer and de Gaulle appear actually to have agreed upon is that Paris should be the meeting place for the "Summit," that it should take place in the second half of April, and what points of discussion should be submitted to it.

The Eisenhower trip

THE Eisenhower 22,000-mile journey through eleven countries has been described by Washington as a mission "to search for peace." In the intention of its organisers it no doubt is just that. But it could also be defined, and with greater accuracy, as a series of quick visits by a rich uncle to nephews and nieces most of whom are poor and holding out their hands for loans and gifts. The very few who do not ask for material benefits want clearer recognition of their standing and importance and of the value of their voices in the family council. Uncle, on his part, wants to make certain that none of them is weakening in faithful loyalty to the family's strict code of thought and conduct.

The uncle's personal readiness to distribute largesse is not wholly shared by the American Congress,which has a say in the matter and is showing symptoms of anxiety about the country's outflow of gold. Former beneficiaries in Europe of American aid have been reminded that the prosperity to which this has led them puts them under the obligation to do more than hitherto in helping the really needy. Most of them admit the obligation, but there is no sign as yet of the general acceptance—still less of the practical execution!—of the proposal that the prosperous countries of the West should set aside one per cent of the national income towards a joint fund to aid the under-developed areas of the world.

Hungary at UN . . .

IN the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations to add the question of Hungary to the agenda

COMMENTARY
By
Roy Sherwood

of its current session it was not the vote of 51 in favour and of 10 against the decision (in the absence of 6 countries when the vote was taken) that presents the main interest. The voting simply followed well-known lines of Communist v. Western and pro-Western alignments. The factor of interest in this case lay in the list of 15 abstentions: Afghanistan, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, the United Arab Republic and Yemen.

The debate preceding the vote was exactly like those on analogous issues. On the one side support for Sir Leslie Munro's report which had said that the past year had brought no evidence of any basic change in the Hungarian situation and that "the framework of aggression" remained as it had been; on the other, that allegations in the report were either "sheer inventions" or references to matters of exclusively domestic jurisdiction.

Whatever the outcome of the Assembly's discussion of the issue may be, nothing will change in Hungary except by permission of Mr. Janos Kadar, by permission of Mr. Khrushchev.

. . . execution reports

WITH regard to the gruesome reports that the present Hungarian Government has been detaining 14-year-olds in prison ever since the 1956 revolution in order to execute them as soon as they attain the legal age of eighteen, speaking strictly for myself only I must say that I do not believe them. In this, I am not simply a gullible believer of official denials. There have been too many (of varying degrees of shockingly savage actions) by Western as well as Communist authorities to make blind acceptance reasonable.

The factor which most strongly influences my thinking on this question is that of ordinary probability. Nora Beloff, writing in The Observer after a three weeks' visit to Hungary, has not up to the present in her series of articles committed herself to belief or disbelief, but she clearly states her impressions of the Budapest Government's and its Moscow overlords' main aim. That, she says, is to act in such a way that the régime will become "materially, morally and culturally palatable" to the people.

She also points out that we must not suppose that we (the West) are now irresistibly attractive to the Hungarians, that refugees who fled in 1956 are sending back unflattering letters about the countries where they are now, and that she has been asked whether we attacked Egypt because we thought the Russians pinned down at the time in Hungary, and why Kadar is not on President Eisenhower's visiting list whereas General Franco is.

A Government wooing the dissentient part of its population does not seem to me likely to commit the outrage of these alleged executions. If the reports were that youngsters of various ages have been subjected to a thorough process of brain-washing and are not released until they are demonstrably "safe," I should believe them.

Nehru's neutralism

PANDIT NEHRU has evaded the danger of overmuch internal criticism and emerged from the parliamentary debate on the China issue with what The Times refers to as his "usual massive majority." But the price he has had to pay has been a declaration of a more warlike nature than any previously made by him in all the years of his premiership, which has, moreover, given offence to Nepal. He not only said that India might have to become "a nation in arms" but also that any aggression against Bhutan or Nepal would be considered aggression against India.

The result has been that even the intensely pro-Nehru Nepalese Premier Bisewar Prasad Koirala has had to declare that if Nepal became the victim of Chinese aggression it would not be for India to decide what to do, but for the United Nations. Other Nepalese voices have been more outspoken in considering the Nehru declaration a "diplomatic invasion."

The Pandit's concession to internal pressures coincides with rich uncle Eisenhower's visit. Let us hope therefore that no dangling of benefits to come will make an end of India's neutralism. The point is all the more important because the Chinese case in the border dispute is much stronger than generally known in the West.

Welcome news

THREE events of the week under review are to be welcomed: the twelve-nation treaty preserving Antarctica for peaceful scientific use, banning nuclear explosions pending other international arrangements. Incidentally, is it not typical of the topsyturvydom of our time that there is little difficulty about rendering an uninhabited part of the world safe against the grestest destructive force of the age whilst months and months of negotiation still leave the places where people live fully exposed?

The second item of better news is the approaching resumption of diplomatic relations between Britain and the United Arab Republic—though that, sad to say, has already been soured by the reports (and naturally resulting controversy) regarding the opening at Port Said of a plainly detestable "Moorhouse Museum." And last but by no means least Britain now has an extensive cultural exchanges programme with the Russians, under an agreement signed on December 1, which may even lead to the cessation of Russian jamming of some, if not all, BBC broadcasts to Russia.

Fréjus disaster

IF I may be forgiven the intrusion of a strictly personal note into this Commentary, I should like to say how deeply shocked and grieved I am at the disaster which has overtaken Fréjus. It is so near to St. Raphael where I lived most of the years between the two wars that it practically adjoins it. And it was at St. Raphael that I first met Dick Sheppard and there that I began to understand the difference between mere disgust with the savagery and futility of war and the implications of real pacifism. Poor Fréjus.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

After Gandhi—conscript youth

MR. MENON, the Indian Defence Minister, announced in Bombay last Sunday that his Government had drawn up a scheme to "bring under arms" a quarter of a million youths between the ages of 15 and 19.

The Minister was addressing more than 2,000 officers and cadets—both boys and girls—of the National Cadet Corps and the Auxiliary Cadet Corps.

According to a Reuter report on December 6, Mr. Menon said that the scheme had been worked out not in any atmosphere of crisis but to provide opportunities for a large number of young men to prepare themselves to defend the country in case of emergency.

Co-existence in Hungary

MR. KADAR, the Party Secretary, said in Budapest on November 30 in Mr. Khrushchev's presence that Soviet troops would remain in Hungary so long as the international situation made this necessary.

He was speaking at the opening of the seventh Congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party. Only Soviet bloc journalists had access to the Congress, The Times' Vienna correspondent reported on November 30.

Algeria at UN

A RESOLUTION on Algeria, sponsored by 22 Afro-Asian countries, was passed on Monday by 38 votes to 26, with 17 abstentions, at the end of an eight-day debate in the UN General Assembly's Political Committee.

France took no part in the debate or the division.

The resolution asks the Assembly, before which it will come, to:

- Recognise the right of the Algerian people to self-determination;
- Express its deep concern with the continuance of hostilities in Algeria;
- Consider that the present situation in Algeria constitutes a threat to international peace and security;
- And note with satisfaction that the two parties concerned have adopted the right of self-determination as the basis for the solution of the Algerian problem.

The resolution also "urges the two parties to enter into *pour parlers* to determine the conditions necessary for the implementation as early as possible of the right of self-determination of the Algerian people, including conditions for a cease-fire."

The resolution is objectionable to the British Government, which, Sir Pierson Dixon said last week, is convinced that no recommendation by the Assembly can help towards a solution at this stage.

Permanent centre

THE new permanent NATO headquarters in Paris, which will be completed in a few weeks' time, are estimated to cost £3,215,000.

Besides 13 conference rooms, the building contains 1,000 offices for the 15 delegations and NATO top brass.

It will be used for the meeting of the Atlantic Council next Tuesday, The Times' Paris correspondent reported on December 1.

★

The British Foreign Secretary refused on Monday to propose to the United Nations Organisation the setting-up of a special commission to consider the problem of white minority races in Southern Africa. This was stated in a written answer to a Parliamentary question from Mr. John Stonehouse, MP.

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"A NEW PROGRESSIVE PARTY?"

Eisenhower's Franco visit is bound to mean

APPROVAL FOR FASCISM

LETTER FROM AMERICA



THE lead paragraph of a recent dispatch from Madrid by New York Times correspondent Benjamin Welles said: "President Eisenhower's decision to visit here as a guest of Generalissimo Franco is being widely interpreted as evidence of the correctness of the Spanish chief of state's policies over the last 20 years."

How could it be interpreted otherwise—not only in Spain but abroad, too? United States dollars have saved Franco's tyranny from economic ruin and—with the participation of US Army personnel—have transformed his antiquated militia into a modern military machine. As a climax, the US honours Franco with a special visit from its Chief Executive. Doesn't this prove that Fascist dictatorship pays off in dealing with the biggest nation advocating democracy?



By Jim Peck

True, President Eisenhower next spring will visit the head of another dictatorship—Russia. But that visit has a very understandable objective: co-existence as an alternative to the total annihilation which would result from a world war with nuclear weapons.

Furthermore, in conciliation efforts with Russia, the US invariably reasserts its opposition to the Communist system, whereas in dealing with Spain and with Latin American dictatorships, the US never utters a word of opposition to the Fascist system.

I wrote a letter to the New York Times to this effect in an effort to break the prevailing silence on this issue. The Times printed it—unusually promptly—although my letter's viewpoint is at odds with the newspapers editorial policy. For two weeks thereafter I closely watched the Times' letter columns to observe whether any other expressions of opinion in the Franco visit would appear. None did. This was in marked contrast with the excess of letters which followed announcement of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev visit exchange.

Business man replies

However, I did receive two letters at home: one pro-Franco, the other anti-Franco but pro-Communist. Both writers took the trouble to look up my address in the phone directory since the Times' policy is to exclude the addresses of persons whose letters it prints. I will describe briefly the pro-Franco letter since it is representative of both official US policy and of opinion of the few North Americans who hold any viewpoint whatsoever on the subject.

The writer describes himself as "a business man who was in Spain in April, 1936, a few months after the election of the so-called Popular Front Government composed of Anarchists, Communists, Socialists, Syndicalists, Republicans, etc." (In my reply I asked him why he described it as a "so-called" Popular Front Government while admitting that such diverse elements were included.) He then proceeds to justify Franco's uprising as a patriotic act, to castigate the Loyalists as "rats," "reds," etc., and finally to uphold Franco today as "our ally" who is going "to help defend us."

There are very few public figures in the US who, like former Senator Lehman, have remained steadfast in their opposition to the Spanish tyrant. On the last anniversary of Franco's accession to power, several Congressmen, including liberal ones, went to the extreme of rising to pay tributes to him.

As for US public opinion, in general, on this issue, it is utterly indifferent. An increasing number of American tourists travel in Spain because of its rock-bottom prices (based on the low living standards under Franco's Fascism). They enjoy the picturesque sights, oblivious of the fact that the dreaded surprise arrest of political dissidents followed by long prison terms is still a reality in Spain.

A Spanish exile I know, who is a writer and newspaperman, is in constant touch, through the underground, with Spain's political prisoners and their plight.

As for Latin Americans, their reaction to Eisenhower's visiting Franco is that it simply extends to Europe a long-detested US policy thoroughly familiar in their own part of the world. The Eisenhower administration has shown more open support for Latin American dictatorships than did the preceding administration under Truman, according to a report recently drafted by the University of New Mexico's School of International Affairs for a special congressional foreign relations subcommittee. Besides recommending "something more than lip service to democratic principles," the report advises the US to promote disarmament and gradually to reduce military aid in Latin America.

Latin America's view

In Latin American minds the Franco visit inevitably will recall Eisenhower's decorating of the since-ousted Venezuelan dictator, Perez-Jimenez, which was largely responsible for the hostile demonstrations which marked Vice-President Nixon's visit to that country following its liberation. The Franco visit will also be associated with official US hostility to Fidel Castro of Cuba as contrasted with official US friendliness toward Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican "Republic," who heads the rearguard of Fascism in the Western hemisphere.

Trujillo, like Franco, can rejoice over Eisenhower's visit. As I expressed it in the concluding sentence of my letter to the Times: "The visit to Franco can result only in giving world-wide status to Fascism."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Khrushchev proposals

GOOD luck to Wallace Hancock in his attempt to induce a more actively enthusiastic reception to Khrushchev's disarmament proposals. I, too, am concerned at the negligible political and pacifist response, and I welcome any attempt to shake people out of their lethargy.

I cannot, however, agree that unilateral disarmament, or for that matter, unilateral nuclear disarmament is dead. On the contrary, campaigning on these issues should be stepped up. Wallace Hancock is impressed because Mr. K's proposals have received the support of 40 nations, but they have *not* received the support of the chief (that is the nuclear armed) nations. Nor, if past history and present trends are any guide, is their support likely to be easily gained.

There is likely to be evasion and procrastination, frayed tempers and angry accusations, objections and counter-proposals for an indefinite period.

The first essential is the restoration of trust and, it seems, that the more concessions Russia makes the less trusted she is by the USA.

What better way can there be to engender trust than the complete unconditional abandonment of arms and of the outmoded method of armed force to settle international disputes by this country? Who would then be in a better position to help to bring about acceptance of universal disarmament?

Wallace Hancock's argument is typical of the pacifist movement and the reason why their work for a generation has been so unproductive. Instead of these new proposals being considered as a reason for abandoning the campaign for unilateral action they should be used as a strong argument against the usual reply of its opponents: "We dare not disarm while Russia is so strongly armed."—**R. WALSH, 154 Droop St., London, W.10.**

Politics at Blackpool

AS one who was also at the Labour Party Conference, I find your correspondent's account somewhat misleading. This is largely due to his use of the word "Left"—usually applied to the advocates of revolution and change—to describe those exponents of doctrinaire nationalisation who do represent (though he denies it) the hard-core conservatives of the Party. Further confusion arises from the fact that some of them support nuclear disarmament but completely failed (here your correspondent is right) to make it a major issue of the Conference, which seems to suggest a lack on their part of either ability or conviction. Again, it is misleading and unfair to describe Denis Healey and his supporters as "pseudo-Conservatives." They merely outlined the modifications in policy which will have to occur if Labour is ever again to become the Government—an issue upon which the future of millions of Africans depends, exactly as the fortunes of India once depended. This was not "doublethink" but a clear interpretation of existing political realities, however regrettable these may be.

Party politics are notoriously ill-mannered, but pacifists are surely committed to a belief in reconciliation and persuasion rather than in violence by word or deed I am therefore disturbed to find a presumably pacifist correspondent commending even by implication the part played at the Conference by Michael Foot. If his extremely rude and unnecessarily offensive speech was typical of him, it is not surprising that his campaign against the H-bomb does not progress more rapidly, and that he has twice been defeated by Joan Vickers, who has been aided by her courtesy of manner effectively to present herself as the friend of the underdog. Other delegates, such as Konni Zilliacus, managed to make similar points without descending to the same low level of vituperation.

Your correspondent did not even mention the constructive speech made by Anthony Wedgwood Benn, the new member of the Party Executive. Mr. Wedgwood Benn laid down a three-point programme for Labour—total disarmament, freedom for Africans, and the attainment of better living conditions for those in Britain who still need them—which pacifists could surely support without reservation.—**VERA BRITTAIN, London, S.W.1.**

Laurens Otter writes: Unfortunately it was necessary for the Editor to leave out a sentence from my article. My definition of the Left should have been Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, War on Want, Movement for Colonial Freedom, anti-Nato, coupled with a variety of forms of common ownership *and an insistence on democratic control.*

To the best of my knowledge Denis Healey has never appeared on an MCF platform and so I considered his speech dishonest. I stressed that the cheering preceded Foot's speech and that his speech did not merit it. I have heard Mr. Macmillan advocate total disarmament *et alia*, but a pacifist must surely use his discretion in judging the sincerity of others, i.e., when Strachey wrote a pamphlet saying "ban all the H-bombs," we did not leap to defend it.

Just for the record, I am not a member of the Labour Party and I do not consider nationalisation an advance towards Socialism.

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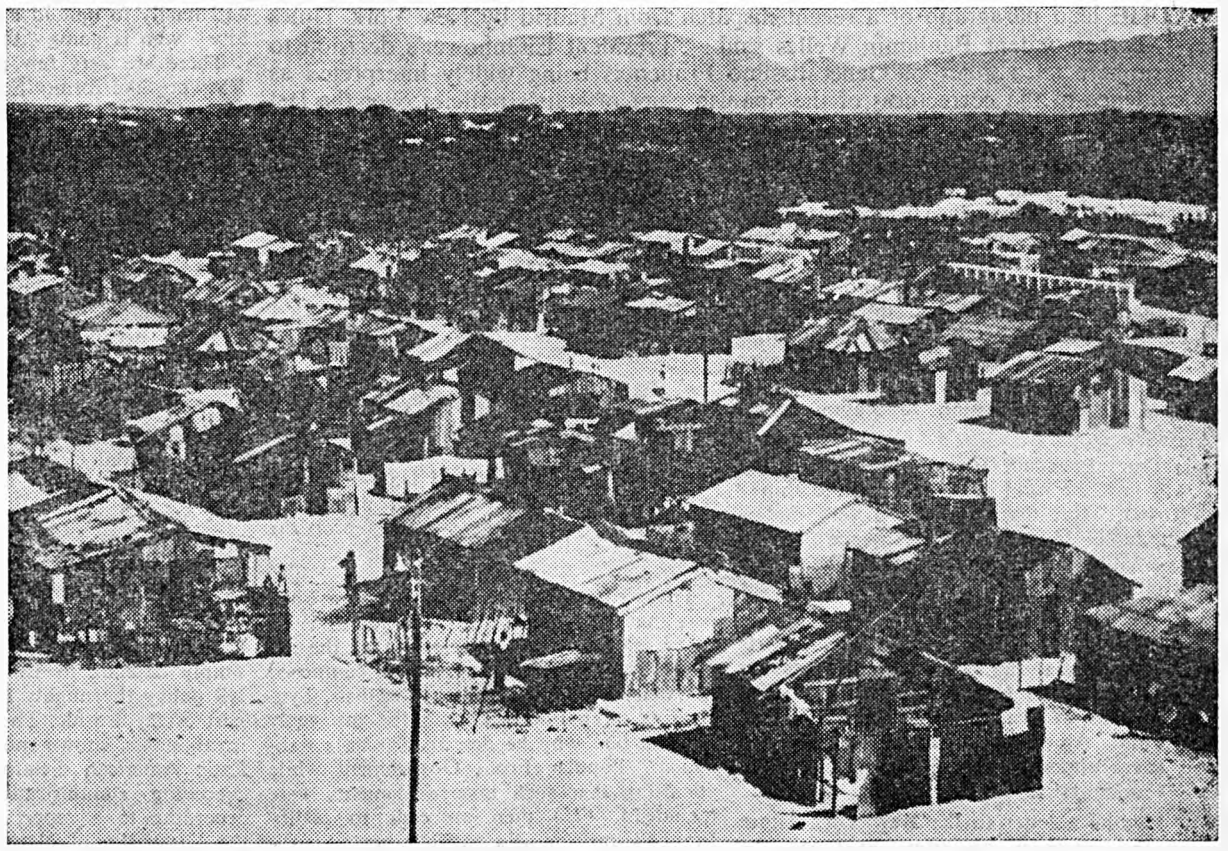
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WHY *NOT* TO BUY SOUTH AFRICAN

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE BOYCOTT

By Patrick van Rensburg

A member of the South African Liberal Party Patrick van Rensburg, was formerly in his country's diplomatic service but resigned his post as a protest against apartheid. The boycott of South African goods in Britain is being organised by the Boycott Movement (200 *Gower St., London, N.W.*1) *for which our contributor writes.*



NEW SLUMS FOR OLD: This is Nyanga, the NEW housing estate for Cape Town Africans. As the tin-and-sacking hovels of Cape Town African slums are cleared, the owners are given a free lorry ride 14 miles out of the city, and told to re-erect their dwellings at Nyanga. It's called the "Site and service scheme."
Photo: Contact, South Africa's Non-racial Review.

Q: **Why has the boycott of South African goods been called?**

A: The Union Government is imposing its policies of racial domination on some 11,000,000 people who have no political representation whatsoever at any level of government in the country. Not only has this domination brought real suffering to so many individual people, but voiceless as they are, their attempts at protest and opposition have almost all been systematically outlawed. Passive resistance is a crime, for instance, leaders are banned, restricted in their movements, and denied the right to speak.

The Treason Trial brings the legality of all means of protest against white domination into question and doubt. People denied ordinary means of political expression are often frustrated into violence, as the recent history of other African territories shows. The boycott aims to provide a non-violent means of protesting against racial domination.

Q: **Should the use of this weapon not be restricted to internal use by the oppressed people in the Union? Why are people in other countries asked to boycott South African goods?**

A: The average African family of five in Johannesburg earns £17 10s. per month, whilst the Government recognises that the poverty line for such a family is £27. Johannesburg's figures are the highest nationally for African earnings. Most of this pittance goes to essentials, leaving very little over for moulding into a really effective boycott weapon.

Even if the weapon were made effective, its organisation would be made illegal in the same way that other forms of protest were outlawed.

★

Q: **What are the immediate aims of the boycott?**

A: The boycott called for in Britain aims to protest at three of the most vicious aspects of apartheid. These are the Treason Trial and the banning of leaders, the extension of the "pass" laws, and the poverty wages of Africans.

Q: **How is it being organised?**

A: There will be an intensified campaign during one month, February 20 to March 19, next year. As an organised campaign this will last only for that period. It should be made clear, however, that this in no way seeks to restrict those who wish to boycott South African goods either before or after. Contrary to trying to restrict them, the limited campaign is aimed primarily at those many others who would need to be reminded about the boycott and who could be constantly reached by publicity only for a limited period. It is hoped that at the end of the campaign many of them might remember to carry on.

There are three phases of the campaign. The first, the current phase, is to get sponsors. The second will be a conference in London on January 19 of delegates of organisations of all shades of opinion in the country, and the third will be the intensified campaign itself. Just prior to this intensified campaign, the protest signed by all the sponsors would be sent to the South African Prime Minister.

Q: **Is the boycott campaign likely to succeed in its aims?**

A: It is very likely to succeed in at least one of its aims, namely to force an increase in African wages. Employers will be sensitive to a boycott and are likely to respond. It would amply compensate the Government's total ban on African strike action.

Recalling that the South African Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, said at a public meeting in the Union, on March 17, 1959, that "protests from abroad about our policies go straight into the waste-paper basket", the campaign aims to create a spectre in his waste-paper basket.

For 11 years criticism from abroad had not gone beyond the formality of protest and this accounts for Dr. Verwoerd's cynicism. For the first time protest would be backed by action, and should penetrate the Nationalist cynicism.

Q: **Will the boycott not harm the African workers themselves?**

A: It was Mr. Eric Louw, the South African External Affairs Minister, who first used this argument. He had never shown such concern for African suffering under apartheid. His Government had introduced job reservation making it legal to exclude Africans from categories of work reserved for whites, for instance.

There is an effective multi-racial opposition to racial domination in South Africa, which is the best judge of methods of opposition. Not only can it call a boycott when it deems it inevitable, but can also call it off when it believes there are good reasons to do so. To concede Mr. Eric Louw's argument is to concede that the Government knows what is best for the Africans—and in some manner, to accept apartheid. Certainly it is to deny that there is an effective, intelligent opposition able to decide on the best course open to it.

Farm produce constitutes the bulk of South African exports to Britain outside of gold, and farmers are both the mainstay of white domination and the most notorious in their treatment of Africans. The farm economy is not so highly mechanised that minima of African workers do not remain essential to each farmer even under the most adverse circumstances. Heavy droughts have proved this time and again.

Though the effects of the boycott would react on the whole economy in time, it would not be before farmers had themselves felt the pinch very severely. Not only would they be inclined to give in to legitimate wage demands, but they would complain to the Government. They do in the event of droughts. This is the real reason for Mr. Eric Louw's concern.

★

Q: **Is this a blanket boycott of South African goods or a selective boycott?**

A: It is a boycott of all South African goods. All employers, for instance, are guilty in regard to the poor wages of Africans. The policy of white domination, furthermore, has the support of most whites. Those who suffer will justly suffer. The innocent will be on the side of the boycott. All South African goods are foreign exchange earners, and the richer the apartheid economy gets, the greater buffer does it have against its inherent threats to future stability.

Q: **Is the boycott appeal restricted to the purchasing public only or is it extended to importers and retailers?**

A: Importers, wholesalers, retailers, shop-workers and dockworkers are being approached in the general appeal.

Q: **How will the boycott affect British exports to South Africa?**

A: This is a campaign of private individuals and not an official campaign. The Union Government would be very foolish to discriminate against British goods in retaliation, because it might provoke official action by the United Kingdom Government.

It should be remembered that there are Commonwealth preferences which mean lower import duties in South Africa on British goods. South Africans buying goods from other countries would have to pay considerably more for them, because of these preferences. South Africa, moreover, depends on these preferences herself in exporting to Britain.

Besides, private boycotts are being initiated in countries other than Britain.

★

Q: **Are South African goods cheaper than those of competitors?**

A: Most of the main competitors enjoy Commonwealth preferences like South Africa, and research has shown that South African goods are sold at the same unit prices as those of competitors. South African sherry enjoys the preferential tariff over Spanish sherry, but the Australians are competing strongly. The Union's sherry exports total no more than £100,000 per annum, in any case.

Q: **But, if South Africa's foreign earnings dropped, it could not buy from Britain.**

A: Deficits are well known in international trade and a South African deficit would be one way of "shaking" the Government.

If Britain imported less from South Africa and more from Australia and the other friendly countries, they could buy more from Britain. There is therefore no loss to Britain. She should, in fact, be concentrating on expanding her market in the West Indies and Nigeria which are repulsed by the apartheid policies.

Q: **Will the boycott not alienate what white sympathy exists for the African case?**

A: Most of the white supporters took up their new positions as a result of such pressures that Africans exerted before being prevented by law from doing so. To move the others still greater pressures are needed. There is always an initial reaction to such pressures, and then follow waves of liberalism. Violence preceded reforms in other territories, and in the Union we want the pressure to be non-violent.

Q: **Are there precedents for such boycott action?**

A: In the Union the bus boycott of 1957 had striking success. In Britain, according to Ralph Waldo Emerson, writing of the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies: "In 1791, 300,000 persons pledged themselves to abstain from all articles of island produce. The planters were obliged to give way."

Q: **Why not boycott goods from other countries with objectionable policies?**

A: In the first place policies of racial domination have international implications which affect Britain. Then also, South Africa is a member of the Commonwealth, and, therefore, of more direct concern to Britain. And not least of the reasons for British action is that the South African Act was passed without adequate provision for the rights of Africans. Next year will be the fiftieth anniversary of that fact, and it will not only be not too late to rectify the matter, but indeed appropriate.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION AGM

The next Annual General Meeting will be held at the Gandhi Memorial Hall on April 30—May 1, 1960.

Nominations for National Chairman and Treasurers, and also for the nine additional members of National Council, must be received by me at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, not later than February 2 and must include the consent of the person nominated to serve. (Sybil Morrison is not elegible to stand).

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STUART MORRIS, Returning Officer.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.), 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3.30 p.m. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Pk., W.1. Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, Myrtle Solomon, Harry Marsh. PPU.

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

News from the anti-colonialism front

I shan't forget this Belgrade solidarity



By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

I AM attending an important conference against Colonialism in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia. It is important because four countries are represented by parties which control their Governments. In addition to Yugoslavia, these delegates come from three North African States—Morocco, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria).

The other delegations are from Algeria in Africa, Lebanon and Oman in the Middle East, Italy and Greece in Southern Europe, and Malta, in the middle of the Mediterranean. I have been invited as a representative of the Movement for Colonial Freedom because, unfortunately, Britain is still a colonial power in this region.

Among the observers are two African Labour leaders from Northern Rhodesia who are studying trade unionism in Yugoslavia. The Conference is meeting in the magnificent TU headquarters here, a building as modern and spacious as our TUC hall in London. One of the Africans has addressed us. He received a tremendous welcome.

A feature of the Conference is the feeling of solidarity with all African peoples and other colonial peoples. It is remarkable how much knowledge there is among these Mediterranean delegates of the struggle in Kenya, Central Africa, the Belgian Congo and South Africa, and how much pride there is in the achievements of Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria.

This solidarity has found expression in the suggestion that the Pan-African Congress, the Afro-Asian Committee, the MCF in Britain, the Asian Socialist Conference and similar movements should be contacted with a view to organising a World Congress against Colonialism. Given the full co-operation of all, this might be possible within 12 months.

OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

There are three countries in the Mediterranean where colonial rule is still aggressively operating. The first is, of course, Algeria. Feeling on this subject is very deep here. The Algerian delegates have been passionately acclaimed, and it was difficult to close the discussion because every delegation wanted to voice its support. A notable speech was made by the foreign affairs expert of the influential Italian Socialist Party.

It was an Italian delegate who suggested that a telegram should be sent to the United Nations urging acceptance of the Afro-Asian resolution on Algeria, a suggestion immediately endorsed.

The second "occupied" country is Malta, whose majority-supported Labour Party is represented by a genial and plain-spoken member of its Executive. The new British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, is visiting Malta immediately. He will find that only one decision will satisfy the people: the acceptance of a target date for independence. The Malta delegate has made one new and good suggestion—that sympathetic Governments should allot time in their broadcasting service for reports of his people's resistance to the present colonial dictatorship.

Malta has been placed on a wider map at this Conference. Her cause has become the cause of governments and peoples who share the Mediterranean with her. When we met Marshal Tito. Malta was the chief topic of discussion. Someone suggested that, after Malta is free, her islands, at the very centre of the Mediterranean and now the Headquarters of NATO for the region, should become the Headquarters of the anti-colonial cause. The Marshal was obviously intrigued by the idea.

I have been shocked to hear that British troops are still actively operating in the third country spot-lighted in the discussion, the territory of Oman which borders the Indian Ocean to the south of Arabia. In 1955, British forces invaded Oman, the RAF dropping 780 tons of bombs on forts and villages in 1,300 operations. Philip Noel Baker then suggested that a United Nations fact-finding mission should be sent. Apparently air and naval attacks are still taking place. I have promised the delegates that we will again urgently raise the matter in the House of Commons.

I have been greatly struck at this conference by the united political attitude of delegates coming from such varied countries. It goes far beyond a negative anti-colonialism. There is a deep conviction that this region of the Mediterranean and the Middle East should free itself from the Cold War by independence from both the power blocs. There is anger about the French bomb test in the Sahara, but the underlying determination is to co-operate constructively for peace.

There is an awareness of the danger that, even if the military rivalry of the Cold War eases, the conflict will take a new form in a rivalry to dominate the underdeveloped countries economically. These countries of North Africa and the Middle East want capital investment to come not from separate Powers with partisan motives, but from pooled resources through a United Nations fund. This is felt so strongly that it has been decided to send the United Nations a special message.

BOYCOTT FOR COMMISSION

I found the two Rhodesian observers bitterly angry about the Commission which has been appointed to go to Central Africa. They have no doubt that all representative Africans will boycott the Commission and they were anxious to be assured that the Labout Party will do so also. They point out that the Commission is required to accept the continuation of the Federation to which Africans are overwhelmingly opposed and they regard its membership as monstrously packed against them.

When I saw them the Labour Party had not made its decision. How I rejoiced to hear later that Labour is to stand out!

By this action we have proved to the Africans that a large section of the British people endorses their right to decide their own future.

We have helped to prevent a despair which might easily turn to violence.

The news of Labour's decision has thrilled all the delegates at Belgrade and has done much to restore a confidence which the defeat in the General Election had lessened. There has been fear here that Central Africa might repeat the tragedy of Algeria which is so close to the Mediterranean people. This fear has been considerably reduced by the evidence of Labour solidarity with the African people. The Conference is closing with a confidence that the cause of colonial freedom will triumph not only in this region, but through all the continent of Africa and wherever the rights of freedom are denied.

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DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Monday.

2. Include Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, December 11

DUBLIN: 8 p.m. 6 Eustace St. "The United Nations at Work": Denis Barritt. IPM.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St. Local Tribunal for COs. Public Adm

Saturday, December 12

BATTLE: 6 p.m. Tinkers Dell, Crowhurst Ln., by invitation of Kenneth & Mary Wray. Christmas Party. Twenty questions, music, etc. Talk: Stuart Morris. PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: 4 p.m. Oddfellows Hall, Unitas Ho., Livery St. Annual Christmas Party. Bring & Buy Stall. Endsleigh Cards on sale. Adults 2s., children free. West Midlands Area PPU.

FELIXSTOWE: 4 p.m. 27 The Avenue, Trimley St. Mary. Christmas tea & carols. More About Russia. PPU.

HEREFORD: 3 p.m. Bridge St. Methodist Hall. World Refugee Year: Film show. FoR.

LIVERPOOL, 22: 7.45 p.m. 3F Courtney Rd., Waterloo. Christmas social, bring & buy stall. Crosby PPU.

Saturdays, December 12 and 19

LONDON, W.C.2.: 7.30 p.m. Subway of Leicester Sq. Underground—meet to come carol singing for UNICEF. N. London War on Want.

Sunday, December 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. "A New Progressive Party?": Antony Bates. PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, S.W.2: 7 p.m. 1 Lanercost Rd., nr. Tulse Hill Stn. Informal discussion of direct action at Harrington. Sunnyside Community.

Monday, December 14

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public Adm.

Tuesday, December 15

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Rd. "Dawn in Nyasaland": Guy Clutton-Brock. Africa Bureau.

Wednesday, December 16

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute (Grand Council Chamber). "Young Friends' Visit to the Soviet Union": David Blamire. PPU.

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Fore St. "A New Generation in the Peace Movement": Christopher Farley. PPU.

Thursday, December 17

ALTON: 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest", Windmill Hill. "Good Food". Phoebe Berrow. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., nr. Green Man. Christmas Social. FoR, PPU.

Saturday, December 19

BRISTOL: 3.15 p.m. 26 West St., Oldland Common—buses 311-2 coach stn. PPU gathering, tea, talk.

Saturday, December 19—Sunday, December 20

LONDON, W.C.1: Sat. 2.30-6.30 p.m.; Sun. 10.30 a.m.-2 p.m. Student Mvmt. Ho., Gower St. Briefing metgs. for volunteers for Harrington rocket base demonstration. Direct Action Cttee.

Monday, December 21

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. "Current Affairs—Latest Disarmament Proposals": Stuart Morris. 6 p.m. Refreshments. Central London PPU.

Wednesday, December 23—December 30

NORTH GERMANY: International Christmas Peace Party at Friendship House, Buckeburg. Enquiries: Aubrey Brocklehurst, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Saturday, December 26—Sunday, January 3

LANCASHIRE & YORKSHIRE: Coast to Coast Youth CND March. Leaves Liverpool noon Dec. 26; arr. Hull Jan. 3. Details: Eric Green, 31 Lamb Hill Close, Richmond, Sheffield 13 (tel.: 396634).

Starting Saturday, January 2

HARRINGTON, nr. Rothwell, Northants: radical rocket base demonstration. Volunteers apply at once to Direct Action Cttee., 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. (STAmford Hill 7062.)

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PEACE NEWS

1224 Dec. 11, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

Thousands of Africans at A-protest team send-off

THE PROTEST TEAM AGAINST THE FRENCH ATOMIC WEAPON TEST WHICH LEFT ACCRA LAST SUNDAY ON ITS WAY TO THE SAHARA HAS BEEN JOINED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE BASUTOLAND NATIONAL CONGRESS, NTSU MOKHEHLE, AND THE FRENCH PACIFIST LEADER PIERRE MARTIN, A MEMBER OF THE STAFF OF UNESCO.

" Thousands were at the arena in Accra this morning for a farewell ceremony before the convoy of two cars and a lorry moved off," A. J. Muste cabled from Ghana on Sunday.

The Mayor of Accra presided. The Rev. Michael Scott and the Ministers of Finance and of Culture were the chief speakers.

Mr. Gbedemah, the Finance Minister, told the audience that the international team, which includes two Americans, three English, nine Ghanaians, one Nigerian and two French, represented 200,000,000 African people who do not want to see African soil violated.

" France has no right to stop the team on African territory. If she does, the whole world, including Africa, will protest."

They had helped to focus attention on the Reggan Crime. Whether the team returned dead or alive they would henceforth be enshrined in every African heart.

" In the end," said Mr. Gbedemah, " truth will prevail."

Mass meetings

The meeting over, thousands lined the streets of Accra to wave farewell to the team, which was escorted by a calvacade of 100 prominent citizens on the first five miles of the road to Kumasi where another mass meeting was to be held that evening.

They were expected to be at the border of French Upper Volta last Tuesday evening. Reports from the border received last Sunday indicated the possibility of considerable sympathy from people in the French territory.

A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, who flew to Ghana to act as co-ordinator of the project and to maintain communications between the team and the outside world, was flying to the border region on Tuesday to observe developments there and also take part in a strategy conference being held there.

Pierre Martin, who worked on the staff of the French pacifist weekly Liberté, has been working in Italy with Danilo Dolci. His work with Unesco is in connection with Service Civil International, the world-wide work camps for peace movement.

New Left Review to be launched

THE New Left Review will be launched in London on Monday night at the St. Pancras Town Hall.

The Review, " a bi-monthly journal of socialist humanism," is the result of the merger between the Universities and Left Review and the New Reasoner.

It will represent " the movement of protest and unrest in Britain " that is " part of a new radical mood which has grown since 1956: a movement of ordinary people against the Party machines, outworn slogans and doctrinaire thinking."

Speakers on Monday include Stuart Hall, the Editor, Claude Bourdet, the Editor of France-Observateur, Raymond Williams, Edward Thompson, Laurence Daly, the independent Socialist candidate at West Fife and Lena Jeger, former Labour MP.

The meeting starts at 8.0 p.m. Music will be provided beforehand and during the interval by Ivan Chin and his West Indian Steel Band.

First issue

The first issue of the Review, on sale on Monday night, will include articles on politics, the Left Clubs now springing up in Britain, the cinema and theatre, book reviews and many other features.

Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams contribute a dialogue on " Working Class Culture "; Frank Allaun, MP, and Christopher Farley write notes on the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament after the Election; there is a display on the Coast-to-Coast Youth CND march; the articles on violence, the Negro and the Deep South are reprinted from the American independent monthly, Liberation; and there are at least 20 other contributors.

Subscriptions are 21s. a year (3s. 6d. a single copy) from the Business Manager, New Left Review, 7 Carlisle Street, London, W.1.

NEXT WEEK

PEACE NEWS CHRISTMAS NUMBER

" THE RECRUIT "

A play written in prison by Fenner Brockway in 1916 with illustrations by Mays.

Special articles by Geoffrey Carnall, Jack Shepherd and others.

The Russian Disarmament Proposals by J. Allen Skinner.

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Volunteers needed at French dam disaster

TEN French members of Service Civil International, the pick-and-shovel work campers, were working at Fréjus in the South of France within 48 hours of the disastrous dam burst on December 2.

By Monday the number of SCI volunteers there had risen to 30, and more are still needed.

A general call has been put out by the SCI's British section, International Voluntary Service, for volunteers to go to Fréjus. Anyone interested should contact IVS at once at 72 Oakley Square, London, N.W.1 (EUSton 3195). SCI's French section can give volunteers some help in fares beyond Paris.

BBC BROADCASTS

LEADING personalities in the United States, France and Western Germany will be questioned on Western attitudes to a " Summit " conference in the BBC's Home Service at 9.15 p.m. next Thursday, December 17 (two days before the Western " Summit " conference opens in Paris).

Questions will be put by members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. This appears to be the first time that a British audience has been able to question by radio leaders of nations in other countries on matters of foreign policy.

. . . SUPPORT FROM WEST BERLIN

A NUMBER of eminent scientists, artists and other members of the Committee Against Atomic Death in West Berlin, together with some local students' groups, have sent an open letter to President de Gaulle urging him to discontinue the preparations for a nuclear test in the Sahara and not to disturb present attempts to lessen international tension. The appeal continues:

" In the course of the next few weeks a group of volunteers from the international movement against nuclear armaments will enter the forbidden zone in the Sahara desert in order to draw world-wide attention to the preparations which are taking place there.

" We, the undersigned, wish to express our solidarity with them in their enterprise."

The open letter then makes a plea for steps to controlled disarmament.

The appeal is being circulated at West German universities to obtain further signatures from students and teachers.

Among the signatories so far are scientists, like Professor Gollwitzer, ministers of religion, theatrical producers, actors, architects and many students.—" *Das Andere Deutschland.*"

Prince's tour film: educationists object

A FILM of Prince Philip's recent Commonwealth tour, which is to be shown to schoolchildren throughout Britain, has been severely criticised by educationists.

Mr. Tony Higgins, chairman of the Society for Education in Film and Television, said that the film " gives a distorted view of life in the Commonwealth. It is a sort of travelogue with everything bright and rosy and nothing included about the seamier side."

Mrs. Shirley Toulson, an education critic, commented, " When Christmas Island is shown in the film, the commentator reminds us it is the scene of our H-bomb tests in 1957—and makes us consider that this is a really great achievement. This is wickedly irresponsible when we are awaiting 'Summit' talks which we all hope will lead to a permanent ban on nuclear tests leading to nuclear disarmament."

Replying to the criticisms, an official of the Central Office of Information (the COI is distributing the film) said, " I see no reason to take seriously this attack on the film. I don't think that many teachers will look upon the film in the same way as those who criticise it have done."

500 Americans in germ warfare vigil

THE vigil of Americans at Fort Detrick, the Maryland germ warfare centre employing 2,000 workers, continues. It has lasted unbroken from dawn to dusk since July 1, and is organised by the Middle Atlantic region of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Last Saturday was Womens Day on the vigil. On Ministers' Day there were about 70 in the vigil line, 35 of whom were ministers, and on College Day there were 45.

Lawrence Scott of the vigil committee reports that its influence " is spreading widely." A decision is about to be taken on whether it should continue beyond January 1. " Many are already urging that it be continued."

January 1 has in any case been named Vigil Alumni Day, when it is hoped that as many participants as possible will return to the germ centre. Over 500 people have now taken part in the project, which has received about $800 since an appeal letter was sent out.

The address is: Appeal and Vigil at Fort Detrick, 324 West Patrick, Frederick, Maryland. (MOnument 2-5721.)

QUAKERS DOUBLE REFUGEE AID

THE British Friends Service Council (Quakers) has authorised a further grant of £4,000 from its relief funds for the purchase of blankets and other necessities for Algerian refugees in Tunisia.

Previous grants amounting to £3,000 have already been spent on powdered milk, milk distribution equipment and blankets.

In the context of World Refugee Year, the Friends Service Council is running a refugee employment programme at Linz in Upper Austria as well as continuing the counselling and rehabilitation work in which it has been engaged in various parts of Europe since the end of the war.

Carols will be sung in London next week in aid of Algerian refugees. Members of the London Bach Society and the London International Choir will sing on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral next Friday, December 18, at 6.0 p.m.

The organisers, Christian Action and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, will be collecting money for the refugees " whose desperate need can be lessened by your help."

Briefing for Harrington

The Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War has arranged a final briefing meeting for all those taking part in the Harrington rocket base protest. It will be at 12 noon on Saturday, Jan. 2, at the Friends Meeting House, Northall St., Kettering.

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